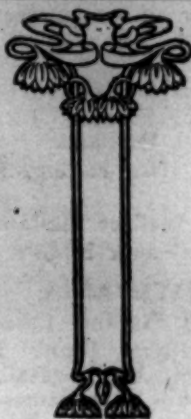


The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
29 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. I
No. 4



Suffrage Ideals Analyzed

Woman as Peace Angel
and Warrior

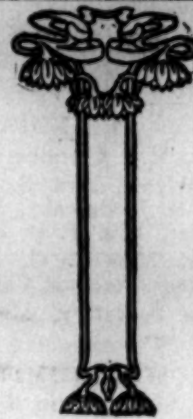
English Suffragists
in Reign of Terror

Women as Jurors

Lord Curzon's Reasons
for Anti-Suffrage

Two Conventions Discuss
Suffrage Question

AUGUST
1912



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Is Woman Man's Equal?

CAN she cull from the forest and mines and
shape

A ship that will stand the gale?
Or fashion a monster of steel and steam
To writhe o'er the polished rail?

Can she conquer the forces of earth and air
To bend to her own sweet will?
Or current the water to furnish power
for the wheels of a giant mill?

Can she burrow the earth for a great subway?
Or chain up the lightning's bars?
Or harness a jumble of wheels and wings
And soar to the distant stars?

Can she dig and delve while her brow reeks sweat
In the bowels of a fetid mine?
Can she face the powder and shot and ball
Of the enemy's firing line?

Can she sleep in a trench the whole night through
With a knapsack under her head?
Is she willing to die as soldiers do
On the field with the unclaimed dead?

HAR greater than man, made immortal
By prowess, or chisel or pen,
Is she who approaches Death's portal
That we may have soldiers and men.

Is She More Than Man's Equal?

SHE cannot rear castle or tower.
But ah, when the sun sinks to rest,
She makes glad the beautiful hour
When home and its shelter is best.

She may not meet all of life's wrestle
In forum, in field and in mart,
But when sleepy little ones nestle,
She gathers them close to her heart.

And all that were bad are forgiven,
And blessed at the close of the day
With prayers and with tears, they are shriven
As only a mother can pray.

Secure from the paths that are tempted
She guides, by that wonderful plan
And law which her sex has pre-empted,
The course and the future of man.

Then who would deprive her of dower?
Or who would detract from her grace?
Or pilfer one tithe of her power
As mother—the Queen of the race?

By FLORENCE GOFF SCHWARZ.

THE ANTI'S ALPHABET.

A is for Antis with banner afloat;
B is for Battle against woman's vote.
C is for Children we fight to protect;
D is for Duties we never neglect.
E is for Energy strengthened by hope;
F is for Folly with which we must cope.
G is the germ of unrest in the brain;
H is for Home, which we mean to maintain.
I is Insurgency now in the air;
J is calm Judgment we're bringing to bear.
K is for Knights, our American men;
L, Loyal service far out of our ken.
M is for Might in our cause to prevail;
N, Noble standards that naught can assail.
O, Obligations we cannot ignore;
P is for Principle marching before.
Q is the Quibble which we must combat;
R is for Reason that answers it pat.
S is Sound Sense, which we have on our side;
T is for Truths that cannot be denied.
U is for Union, whose aid we entreat;
V, Votes for women, we're sworn to defeat.
W is Wages the suffragettes claim;
X is for Xanthic, the color and frame.
Y is for Yankee, of Red, White and Blue;
Z is the Zeal to protect them for You.

OHIO ANTI-SUFFRAGE

CAMPAIGN DEVELOPS.

With only a few weeks remaining before the voters of Ohio will pass final judgment on the question of woman's suffrage, the campaign against it has taken on the most hopeful aspect it has at any time enjoyed. After weeks of hard work local organizations have been perfected in practically all of the representative cities of the state, and speakers are now addressing audiences of encouraging sizes almost nightly in a number of places.

These organizations have provided avenues through which the literature of the state association can reach the general public and every day brings increasing demand for this material. Such material as the platform upon which the campaign is being waged have been printed in one hundred thousand lots, while dozens of pamphlets and circulars have been turned out ten thousand at a time.

That progress is being made toward the end desired is sufficiently indicated by the increasing interest shown in the movement of the press of the state. While the newspapers for the most part are giving both sides of the question fair treatment, they are

generous with their space, betokening an aroused interest on the part of their readers. Leading newspapers like the Cincinnati Enquirer and the Cleveland Leader have opened departments to which a fixed amount of space is regularly accorded and which are made forums from which either side may proclaim its doctrines. The Dayton News (which is one of the papers owned by Representative James Cox, who is a candidate for governor) has upon several occasions, devoted an entire page to presenting the arguments against suffrage. The Dayton Herald has taken a poll among women that it can reach, and finds that in Dayton and vicinity, women are opposed to suffrage on a basis of two to one.

Ohio is a great state for chautauquas and a number of these have requested this association to supply them with speakers. Miss Minnie Bronson, of New York, has dates at Coshocton, New Carlisle and Lakeside, and others are in process of negotiation. Clubs at Cleveland, Dayton, Bellevue and other communities have asked for speakers and these have been supplied whenever possible. An important moral effect has been gained by meeting in open debate with the speakers representing the other side, in

each instance of which the opposition to suffrage has been conceded to have scored a victory.

ENGLISH TEACHERS

AGAINST SUFFRAGE.

The English suffragists appear to have felt, no doubt, that they could induce the National Union of Teachers, at its last conference, to declare in favor of suffrage, and they fully realized what an accession of strength to their cause such a declaration would be. Accordingly, they introduced into the conference a resolution expressing sympathy with women "who desire to possess and exercise the parliamentary franchise, but because they are women, and for that reason alone, are by law debarred from it." But the suffragists miscalculated their strength. After a spirited debate, the resolution was voted down by a majority of nearly 14,000, the vote being: For, 22,284; against, 36,225; majority against, 13,941. —The Remonstrance.

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The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
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President, MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE - - - New York
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Treasurer, MRS. ROBERT GARRETT - Roland Park, Baltimore

Vol. 1 AUGUST, 1912 No. 4

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

THAT "INTELLIGENT WOMAN."

MR. JAMES LAIDLAW gave voice to his earnest conviction not long since that "if there was one intelligent woman in the United States who wished to vote and could not" this constituted a grave injustice. California proves that there are more than one. About twenty per cent. of the women of San Francisco are disposed to embrace their opportunities. Now, the question seems to be whether it is worth while to expend so much nerve force and money for a right which only appeals to a small minority. It is obvious that one-fifth is scarcely enough to carry any female measure or create a power in politics. Is it worth while surrendering our legal privileges and special status in order to become a negligible quantity at the polls? Isn't it better that that "one intelligent woman" Mr. Laidlaw so often alludes to should suffer a little longer than that we should all be made responsible for matters for which the majority of us feel we have no special aptitude, and which infringe on more important duties?

And then, too, women, as Miss Jane Addams illustrated lately by a clever little anecdote, are practical. They don't want to see thousands of dollars wasted yearly in campaign funds for banners, bribery and parades which might so much more intelligently be directly applied to human needs, such as the abolition of child labor, feeding the hungry or succoring the unfortunate. The everlasting clap trap and circumlocution of political methods bores most women to death. Like the little girl in Miss Addams' anecdote, they want to get at the main issue, "spell w-i-n-d-e-r" and then "go and do it."

Sums of \$37,750 and \$36,890 were contributed to the suffrage campaign in two successive years by leaders of the cause and what proportionate good has been accomplished? That amount would have materially benefited the pure milk crusade. Reforms against nature are always terribly expensive. The suffragists have led the women to the ballot-box by aid of a well-organized political machine but they can't make them vote. How much more disproportionate time, labor and money will it cost before that can be accomplished?

WOMAN'S VOTE AS SOCIALIST AID.

ONE of the leading English suffragists, Mrs. Fawcett, and her ally, Lord Lytton, have made "an appeal" to their friends in all the societies in the Union to consider whether they would not do well to modify their existing election policy, and give definite support to labor candidates, who are officially approved by their party (the Independent Labor Party), because "the Independent Labor Party has, from its formation, promoted the enfranchisement of women." This lead has been accepted by the council of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and the organization now stands pledged to that policy.

The "English Anti-Suffrage Review" says: "Could any pro-

nouncement more clearly show that Mrs. Fawcett and her noble ally are ready to throw over political convictions for the sake of their pet crank? The Independent Labor Party, with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Keir Hardie at their head, are nothing if not a Socialist Party, and it is because they hope to increase the Socialist vote that they decide to break down the sex barrier which blocks the way to woman suffrage. Mrs. Fawcett and Lord Lytton, Unionists and Constitutionalists, fling themselves into the arms of Socialism, prepared to buy woman suffrage at any price, even at the cost of what they have hitherto deemed a deadly peril to Constitution and country. Onlookers, who see most of the game, will speedily put their own estimate upon the level-headedness of these suffragist leaders. They will be likely to ask whether this is what such Unionists come to when, by the fanaticism of one idea, they are color-blinded to the red light, and, like buffaloes, with their heads down, make straight for it."

In our own country, as the Republican and Democratic Conventions refused to put a suffrage plank in their platform, it would only be following the English leaders if suffragists should refuse to use their influence for the candidate of either of these parties and favor the candidates of the Socialist and Prohibition parties, both of which have adopted suffrage at their Conventions.

CRYING FOR DANGEROUS WEAPON.

IT seems as if the New Woman crying and occasionally going into a fit of temper for suffrage is like a child begging to play with a cannon firecracker or a loaded pistol. She doesn't know her own danger. She is risking so much and stands to gain so little. The present regard for woman, her immunity from war, her first chance for safety, her every-day and every-hour consideration by decent men, all this it is proposed to risk to gain the right to vote!

We think the risk is too great. And no amount of indignant rhetoric regarding the exceptions to the rule, the oppressed shop-girl, the weary clerk, the occasional victim of man's passions and man's greed demolishes the fact that they are exceptions, and that without the ballot an enormous deal of reform has been effected.

Neither can the same eloquence prove that a vote is likely to do more to help industrial conditions for women than it has done to help them for men.

Moreover, it seems to me that women, carried away by their enthusiasm, are giving the measure which they favor a fictitious importance, and to help it along they are willing to sacrifice patriotism and their own consciences.

They offer themselves willing tools to unprincipled politicians on one hand and to even more dangerous fanatics on the other. The worst menace of modern life and civilization comes from the syndicalists, who frankly intend the destruction of all government and all property. Yet multitudes of perfectly honest, good, patriotic women are aiding them unawares.

What the women of the whole world need most, is not more freedom, but more light. When they have that the freedom and the power will come without any shrieking or stone-throwing. And the form this greater freedom and power shall take is not so material as its substance.

—ALICE FRENCH (Octave Thanet)

HAVELOCK ELLIS, the great English psychologist, counsels indirect influence, the use of "charm," as the best means of securing the ballot for women. But suffragists will, of course, repudiate this suggestion with scorn. They have long since expressed their unalterable views on this subject.

"APPEAL TO REASON" AND ITS ANSWER.

THE fight at the polls this Fall will centre around the adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall amendments to the Constitution. Under the provisions of the recall amendment the judges of the Supreme Court of California can be retired. These are men who will decide the fate of the kidnapped workers! Don't you see what it means, comrades, to have in the hands of an intelligent, militant, working class the political power to recall the present capitalist judges and put on the bench our men? Was there ever such an opportunity for effective work? No; not since Socialism first raised its crimson banner on the shores of Morgan's country! The election for Governor and State officers of California does not occur until 1914. But with the recall at our command we can put our own men in office without waiting for a regular election."—The Appeal to Reason, edited by Eugene Debs.

It was in answer to this "appeal to reason" that woman suffrage was won at the polls in California. The Fall election to which Mr. Debs' paper refers passed no less than twenty-three radical amendments to the Constitution, though only sixty per cent. of the population went to the polls. The forty per cent., who were absent, were probably many of them serene optimists, who were quite sure the danger was greatly exaggerated. There is every reason why California should be regarded as a testing ground for all these principles. All we ask is a practical object-lesson before assuming that change is necessarily progress.—J. W.

WOMEN IN POLITICS.

THOSE women who have had the best opportunity to understand practical politics are, it would seem, the last to urge woman suffrage. Both the Republican and Democratic Conventions have effectively demonstrated what the physical wear and tear of a political campaign can be. Work is nothing to it. It is the excitement and nervous tension which would play havoc with the nerves of women. Would women, continually strung up to the breaking point, make calm mothers of the race? Or do the suffragists seriously believe, as they sometimes naively state, that the presence of the women as candidates would make things less exciting? One can imagine a woman, with her picture hat on one ear, shouting through a megaphone; but isn't it bad enough already?

Are we to have no element of conservatism? Let us read and reflect on the history of every country where women joined the shouting and the tumult. It meant always bloodshed and anarchy and a rapid degeneration of the nation. The women go farther because they are more extreme by nature and more impressionable. Shall we live to see a convention in which stones are hurled, windows broken and clothes are torn? It is quite possible. Have we not lived through the Commune of Paris and the suffragette outrages of London?

MRS. SARAH PLATT DECKER'S DEATH.

IN our July number we made a quotation from a Colorado paper in regard to Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker, whose sudden death occurred after our going to press. We regret extremely that it was not possible to omit the item in question, as we certainly would not have published anything about her under the circumstances. Mrs. Decker was a leader of Colorado's best womanhood, as was stated in the quotation, and did much for the cause of woman aside from her work for equal suffrage. The circumstances of her death were such as to appeal to the sympathies of all women, whether they agreed with her views or not.

FORMING MEN'S LEAGUES.

FOR many years there has been a list of prominent men in Massachusetts who expressed themselves as opposed to woman suffrage, and the long list of names included some of the leading and most intelligent men from all over the State. Recently a men's league has been formed in Boston to work in co-operation with the Massachusetts Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. The men in Columbus and Milwaukee have formed leagues to work against the success of woman suffrage, as the question will be submitted to the people of Ohio and Wisconsin this Autumn.

We hope that similar leagues will be formed in other States, as this is a subject in which men are interested equally with women.

SUFFRAGE IDEALS.**Analysis Fails to Indicate that Theories of the Suffragists are Based Upon Sound Logic or Good Reasoning.**

If education consists in drawing out that which is already within, civilization may be said to be only a process of adjusting individuals to their environment so as to secure the greatest amount of useful service to the community from each. There is waste—conscienceless, reckless waste—both in material production and in that finer thing, happiness, wherever maladjustment exists. Nature has to some extent designated the sphere of usefulness for all mankind as moral agents of the Divine will, whether by struggle or endurance, whether by creation or conservation.

In both man and woman the limitation of capacity is clearly indicated, and within these defined limitations must lie all possibility of development for either sex. Goethe's saying that "all true development" comes "from within outward" is as true of the oak as of the vine, although resulting in a different fruition in each, thus making strength and beauty equally a part of nature's design. Time was in the early ages of the world when men and women, uncivilized and ignorant of themselves and their own needs, labored at the same tasks, the woman, of course, at a great disadvantage because of her physical inequality, and the man as yet devoid of a knowledge of that power in her which means domestic happiness, the refinement of life and his development of the protective and chivalrous instinct through love and religion.

As civilization advanced the growth of æsthetic and spiritual ideals took the place of the reign of brute force, and the respect and influence of woman increased proportionately. With the ethical and religious development of man came the reverence for woman as wife and mother, and the endeavor to lift her above the sordid struggle for existence by some permanent provision for the family. This provision is due to the early Christian Church, which, through three or four centuries, brought pressure to bear on men at the time of marriage, and out of this grew the principle of maintenance and dower for married women which has come to be a part of the common law of every civilized country. On this principle the home depends, and in spite of various specious arguments to the contrary it will not be possible to preserve that institution unless the major part of the woman's interest is concentrated therein and her security, at least, in a measure guaranteed.

No woman after marriage is capable of competing with men in industrial life and at the same time maintaining the highest standard in her own heaven-ordained task. The only way in which she can possibly enter man's field of action with any chance of success is by completely laying aside the self-sacrificing duties of wife and mother. It is

the principal preoccupation of both Socialist and suffragist, at present, to devise a means by which this may be accomplished, and various fantastic schemes have been suggested.

In the beginning the suffragists disclaimed any desire to hold office, and many still assert that they only wish to control those matters which affect their children's lives, such as the purity of milk, the cleanliness of the streets, the quality of clothing and the standards of education. If this had proved true, one, if not all, of the objections to woman suffrage would have been removed, for it is easy to see that women are the proper persons to control domestic affairs, and might very well be held responsible for the evident neglect which prevails at present in that department.

Miss Ellis Meredith, president of the Election Commission of the city and county of Denver, Col., says that there are 600,000 illiterate children in this country (the "Christian Herald" gives the figures as 6,246,857), and that of the large number who are supposed to attend school regularly twenty-five per cent. are absent every day. Miss Meredith thinks that woman suffrage is the only means of curing illiteracy and getting these truants to school, but she does not explain why it is that Germany, with her domestic and home-loving women, yet turns out yearly the largest proportion of highly educated youth in Europe, and has the smallest percentage of illiteracy. From this it might seem that there is an even more direct way of solving these problems than through the ballot-box and the Juvenile Court, and that the German mother has found it. Using the vote as a means of getting the children to go to school seems a curiously round about method to any one outside the suffrage movement. To Miss Meredith it appears simple and natural. She is doubtless perfectly sincere in suggesting this solution.

Yet in Massachusetts, where women possess the school suffrage, only four per cent. of them use it, and in England, where municipal suffrage is an established right, Miss Violet Markham is authority for the statement that there are scarcely any women serving on town or county councils, and that no less than 232 boards of guardians are without a woman among them.

In suffrage States I believe it is not denied that the way to the ballot is made easy for women by the use of the automobiles and carriages to carry them to the polls. The same characteristic dislike of drudgery which makes women refuse the kitchen appliances, it would seem, to "stuffy board rooms" and fatiguing reports.

Our forefathers held that "taxation without representation is tyranny," but such a doctrine was never held by makers of the Constitution in regard to internal taxation. What the colonists fought for was the right to fix their own system of taxation and not to be levied on by another country. When they had established this right by force of arms and endurance, they proceeded to tax all property, but they limited the suffrage far more than is the case at present. Although they believed that "taxation without representation was tyranny," they evidently did not believe that women were not represented, for women were taxed in the thirteen original States.

Why should the burden of suffrage be forced on women when the same good results are obtainable without it and many complications avoided? Nothing has been accomplished in suffrage States which has not been equally well accomplished elsewhere. The non-suffrage States have enacted the best child-labor laws, and many of the States offer better protection to women than do Colorado or Utah. The pay of women teachers in New York, where women have no vote, is the same as men's. In suffrage States they have not been able to accomplish this. They need not regret it, however, as the invariable result of this attempt

to regulate economic laws is to lose places to women. In New York fifty-three married teachers fell below the new standard of efficiency, and were dismissed. As the men's pay was reduced to meet the women's increase, it has had the effect of forcing men teachers to seek more remunerative employment elsewhere and leave the field to maiden ladies. All suffrage legislation tends to the interest of the independent wage-earning woman and to the destruction of the family as a unit. This is a fair example. It will be seen that the married women lost their positions, and the men (married or single) had their pay reduced. In either case it was the married woman who suffered, both as housekeeper and wage-earner.

We hear much of the Denver Juvenile Court, but Colorado is the only suffrage State which possesses a Juvenile Court, and was by no means the first to acquire one. Twenty-two of the forty-two non-suffrage States have good Juvenile Courts of their own. Women's votes are not necessary to secure either Juvenile Courts or pure food laws, but household efficiency might go far to prevent the necessity of either. Large numbers of women do not desire the ballot because they know that it implies a weight of new obligations and the abolition of many privileges.

We foresee a time when the integrity of the vote of a woman supported by her husband may be challenged. She is not entirely a free agent. The suffragists admit that voting means ultimately, if not immediately, the abolition of support and dower as fixed principles of common law. Mr. William Hard, editor of the "Delineator," a suffrage journal, has drawn up a model law, in which women as equal guardians of their children assume equal responsibilities with their husbands in regard to their support. As Mr. Hard has found no way to lighten the physical handicap already put upon women by nature, it is a little difficult to see how two new responsibilities will be to her advantage. Few mothers deny the moral right of minor children, but it is doubtful whether it is wise legislation to give growing boys a legal claim on women for support, or whether in most cases it would be desirable to relieve men of any part of their duty in regard to their families.

From this position and the idea of equal property rights, with no advantage on the side of the wife and mother, it is but a step to the complete doing away with of maintenance and dower. Governor Carey, of Wyoming, the suffrage Governor of a suffrage State, has taken that step, in thought, at least. He frankly says, "Woman suffrage means absolute equality so far as property is concerned. . . . Woman suffrage means the abolition of dower and tenancy by courtesy." This view of marriage as an "economic partnership," in which half the fortune and earnings of the husband is due to the wife because she is his business partner, and therefore justly entitled to her share in the profits implies two things, or at least one of two things. The husband must be given the legal right to enforce his share of the wife's partnership work, just as she is legally enabled to exact her partnership pay, or he must have the right to dissolve it and make a more remunerative contract in case she should prove incapable. This, it seems to us, means simply a very old-fashioned idea of marriage, in which the wife, no longer the sole possessor of her fortune and earnings, with an added claim on her husband, will return to the old dependence and become again subject to legal bondage. A man-made law lifted woman above the law and gave her financial independence, or at least security. The woman's law establishes claims upon her from which American women have been hitherto free. When most dependent they have been most protected, and it is safe to say that special privileges and protective laws for women cannot exist with the claim of physical capacity to endure the hardships of life which

jury service, military duty and voting implies. Suffragists say they despise privileges, but suffragists are few, and the great majority of women, whether wage-earner or wife, could scarcely agree with them if fully aware of the greatness of the sacrifice demanded in return for a doubtful good.

We women who oppose suffrage are not demanding pay as wives and mothers. Although we regard marriage as among the honorable professions, we class it financially with those of clergyman and soldiers as a profession demanding much sacrifice and worthy of secure provision, but never as one of the money-making trades. This new suggestion of division of men's incomes or earnings in two equal parts as a legal right on the part of a woman leads us into strange realms of thought. One may imagine a wife receiving \$5,000 a year, in some cases, for performing the ordinary duties of her position. If, however, marriage is to be regarded merely as a trade, supply and demand will govern the wages of wives, as in all other professions, and many women will, no doubt, work for their board, just as many now marry for a home; and if we put these things on a money basis, let us not forget, that it is seldom the honest woman who receives the most pay. There is a finer kind of justice in the security given to the honorable wife and mother than in the disproportionate pay sometimes given by men to women who are neither. Do not let us confuse our positions.

Those who protest that no physical inequality exists between the sexes must find it hard to explain the eloquent memorandum presented to the Home Office by the Militant Suffragettes, in which they complain that the policemen had in some cases "put forth their strength perhaps more than they were aware of," and had not always remembered that they were dealing with "women." But had not these women forgotten, too, what civilization had done for them and on what their privileges depended when they fell back into primitive savagery and behaved like the squaws who shoot and kill, or the Amazons of Dahomey, who "fight like demons with teeth and claws."

Civilized man asks of women better things than these, just because he is civilized. He has made her the guardian of the temple and the hearth fire. To him she symbolizes peace and happiness and moral force, not war and lust and hard labor, as among savages. Appeal to the primitive in man and you get the primitive reply, "I am stronger than you, therefore obey me." Thank God we have passed the evolutionary period of brute strength, even if these women had successfully demonstrated that they were superior in that respect in their futile struggles with the policemen. This is an age where the mental and the moral rule, and for that reason the militant argument is a feeble one. It is also retrogressive.

The most attractive plea for woman suffrage is put forth by Selma Lagerlof. Taking the home as the result of what has been obtained by men and women in combination she paints an ideal state, in which the same conditions might prevail. I grieve to say that the comparison loses in value when one realizes that the home to which she refers is broken up in this country by one divorce in every twelve marriages, and that this increase in divorces is especially noticeable in suffrage States, increasing in Colorado from 450 to 557 in ten years; in Wyoming 70 to 143; Utah, 225 to 387, and Idaho, 139 to 320. Of these divorces eighty per cent. are secured by women for trivial causes.

The suffragists have some responsibility for this state of things. It is the inevitable result of the doctrine of economic independence for women as a chief desideratum. The suffragists teach, as the highest possible ideal, industrial training for all women, with marriage as a mere incident. And here we are faced with the problems of child labor,

the white slave traffic and the servant question, pitiable evidences that home life is by no means on so secure a basis as before the entry of women, girls and children into industrial competition. Throwing themselves into political life, with all its fatigues, burdens and new excitements and temptations can scarcely serve to restore the home of Selma Lagerlof's picture, which was the fruit of quite different ideals, and meant the specialization of man and woman in their different spheres, thus producing a higher degree of efficiency in both. When home was really home, then men reared by mothers devoted to duty built up a great State.

Without the home training of self-sacrificing mothers, great men can not be produced. Most great men have had great mothers. But the women who lead the suffrage movement frankly regard such ideals as "reactionary." They have said so in their platform. They think that we shall have purer food and cleaner streets and healthier children if these matters are made party questions by women as well as by the city grafters. They consider the mother's influence so unessential that her place can easily be filled by hirelings. They do not know, apparently, that child welfare and pure milk, like liberty, are at the price of eternal vigilance, and that the ballot can guarantee neither. Yet in the very midst of the promises of the higher standard in politics to be brought about by votes for women a well-known suffragist exclaims, "We are tired of seeing all the fat official salaries and sight-seeing junkets gobbled up by men."

It is said that women must help make the laws in order to protect themselves from the greed and injustice of men, who would never otherwise consider them. Yet out of forty-eight States thirty-nine have secured their fortunes and earnings to married women, thirty-four regulate the hours at which women may work (and only one of these is a suffrage State) and fifty-two laws were placed on the statute books of thirty-two non-suffrage States for the protection of women and children between the years 1908-1910. In addition to this there is always the old common law which maintains that no matter what a wife possesses, or what work she does or does not do, she is entitled to support and dower from her husband, and he may not sell, give or bequeath without her consent.

The claim that the vote will raise woman's wages is briefly answered. It has not raised man's. I quote from conditions in Wisconsin, the State of all others where Socialist experiments have been tried. The Wisconsin "Post" of December 6th says, "Two hundred men to-day fought in Tower Avenue for a chance to work. There were just four jobs open at the docks, and 200 men sought them. Three tickets had been dealt out, when the demand for the remaining one became so clamorous that the agent in charge threw the fourth above the men's heads. As it fell the men in the crowd rushed for it, fighting desperately to get the right to work."

Much is made of the condition of the working girl. At each legislative hearing a succession of highly emotional testimony is brought forth showing the terrible competition and "speeding up" of the wage-earner, her lack of protection and her ultimate destiny in a life of shame unless relieved by the ballot. Yet the suffragists are industriously stimulating all women, even wives and mothers, to go out and support themselves. They say maintenance is degrading, home life is slavery and domestic occupations are drudgery. One suffragist says, "For one adult human being to accept support from another is disgusting. It smacks of inferiority." Many others repeat this in different words. Thousands of women to-day who have homes are reducing the wages of those who have not by the false ideal of economic independence and monetary compensation for all work. It is this which has so lowered domestic standards,

and an increase in the sale of willow plumes and a decrease in the birth rate is about all that has come of it. How can the ballot raise wages if the market is overcrowded with unskilled and temporary workers? When the wives and mothers join the great army of spasmodic workers, can it improve the condition of the wage-earner who has no "economic partner" to assist her? How can the home be preserved with the home-maker absent? We fail to see how the ballot can solve this problem.

The last cry of the suffragists is that they want the vote because they are "human beings." They have apparently some sort of nebulous idea that all human beings are born with a vote. As a matter of fact, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge says that only about one-fifth, and possibly less, of the inhabitants of this country possess the franchise. The interests of the rest are, nevertheless, considered and protected. If they were not it is evident that one-fifth of the population would have to account to the four-fifths who are not voters, but who are capable of forming public opinion in their own behalf.

It will not help woman's moral influence to be accused of furthering the liquor interests, taking a bribe or working for a boss. These accusations have already been made by woman against woman in the virulence and malignancy of the suffrage campaign in California, where the bitterness descended even to the children. The "frenzied activity of the suffragist" has passed into a proverb. An instance of the extremes to which women are temperamentally liable is seen in the "Will and Won't Pledge," by which certain suffrage societies ask their members to bind themselves to give nothing in charity until they get the vote. If we could be convinced, as suffragists declare, that politics is the cure for pernicious "indirect influence" we would advocate this move toward sincerity. But it seems to open a glorious avenue to a new sphere of "indirect influence"—nothing more.

We also oppose woman suffrage because the measures so far initiated by the women who aspire to make laws for us have not increased our confidence in them as legislators. We are not believers in the abolition of maintenance and dower rights, nor in easy divorce, nor co-operative households, nor in State nurseries, nor in trial marriages. We prefer our property rights to a vote. We do not accept August Bebel's or Ellen Key's social philosophy as recommended by the "Woman's Journal" as a solution for our domestic problems.

We believe that woman suffrage would weaken the State by giving political power to a body that cannot enforce law. We believe it would weaken the home ties by introducing a new source of discord and dissolution. We believe it would weaken woman's power by giving her a new and exciting stimulus, by taking away her privileges and independence and by increasing her burdens. We believe it is not good for the future generation, and we close with Miss Violet Markham's words: "What is bad for the bee-hives is bad for the bees."

Julia F. Waterman.

WOMEN AND WAR.

History Does Not Bear Out the Rev. Anna Shaw's Statement, That Women's Votes Will End Wars.

The Rev. Anna Shaw says that "women will make guns superfluous when they get the vote." This belief is expressed by various leaders of the woman suffrage organization, among others Martha Wentworth Suffren, who has

voiced the opinion that the abolition of war is one of the things that cannot be obtained without women's votes.

On the contrary, current history seems to show that women keep up the war spirit.

For many years the military spirit in France was apparently dead. After her narrow escape from war with Germany on the Morocco issue a remarkable political paradox took place. Maurice Bertheaux, the Minister of War and the leader of the party that had organized the anti-military campaign, became an ardent supporter of the army, devoting two millions of his personal fortune to its rehabilitation. Under his administration the army began to awaken, and Zola and Labori sank in popular esteem. Then came the second German alarm, the "bateau Agadir," and during all the long Franco-German negotiations all parties stood shoulder to shoulder, ready to fly to arms, and war songs rang out from every shop.

To understand this recent military renaissance one must hunt for the cause. In a large measure it has been "la femme." While the men were denouncing the evils of the army, while the peace prophets were having their love feasts, while the authorities were discouraging the initiative of officers and weakening the forces of war, the women were quietly teaching patriotism and a love for the army in their homes. Women never forget losses, defeats and injuries, and those of 1870 are still alive in the hearts of the French women. In the streets, in the church and in the schools, the children of France have heard the cry, "A bas l'armée," but the cry of the mother at home has been, "Vive l'armée," and the unquestioned authority of the French mother has won the youth to patriotism and militarism. The military spirit has seized the children. The long-neglected toy soldiers, diminutive uniforms, swords, etc., have replaced the mechanical novelties, and toy factories are working overtime to supply the demand.

Forty thousand women have asked to be enrolled in the military hospital corps, and as many more are taking the course in the hospitals that will give them the right to follow the army.

The talk of leisure hours is not so much of the newest play or the latest scandal, but of the possibilities of the aeroplane in war. But France's ambition to be the queen of the air is seriously menaced by the enthusiasm for aerial supremacy on the other side of the Rhine. In April, after the speech of Prince Henry at the opening of the German Aviation Exhibition, the German press appealed to the people and raised \$120,000 in two days for military aviation funds. Germany's declared intention to raise \$6,000,000 for this purpose and thus outdo France roused the French to renewed activity. The most striking development of the movement was the formation of a committee of prominent French women, who issued an appeal to their sisters for funds for the purchase of an aeroplane to be called "Les Françaises." In this committee are the principal representatives of the women's movement in France. The appeal has met with such hearty response that not only one but several aeroplanes will be added to the national fleet through the efforts of women. French women are not promising to make guns superfluous when they attain the vote.

The attitude of Persian women toward war has been described by Mr. W. Morgan Shuster, the American gentleman who served as treasurer-general for that unhappy country. In Persia, war and progress seem to be synonymous terms, and Mr. Shuster declared on his return to this country that the Persian women are the real power behind the throne in that man-governed country. In every city and town, he says, "they have a well-organized society, which has its central association in the capital. When the trouble first started with Russia 200 of these resolute women

marched into the Parliament armed with pistols, and threatened to kill their husbands and brothers and every Persian man they could meet if Persia gave way to Russia." It is obvious that Persian women do not agree with Miss Shaw, Mrs. Suffren and other American suffragists.

The militant suffragettes of England have not only besought the Government to permit them to enroll in an amazon regiment, but have turned themselves into recruiting officers for the Territorial forces. During the last Winter as many as sixty were acting as recruiting officers. It is evidently not expected in England that votes for women will abolish war.

But some suffragists say that women would, of course, uphold just wars, but be inexorably opposed to those waged in the interests of commerce and territorial expansion. Does the land-grabbing war in Tripoli meet this description? In this war Italy is actuated solely by desire for national gain and impelled by the passion of imperialism. The excitement of the people over this war seems extravagant. The "New York Times" describes it in these words:

"Italy has some reason for wanting to fight Turkey. The Italians in Turkish dominions have been badly treated, and so frequently and generally as to show a settled tendency toward hostility, if not a definite purpose. Italy would have been quite justified as things go in demanding apology, reform and indemnity, and in enforcing the demand by arms. But the Italian Government did not do this. It undertook the seizure of Tripoli with cynical ignoring of any reasons except its desire to extend its territory and increase its trade. It seems a wild undertaking which can yield no advantage that will begin to offset the enormous cost. Over this immensely costly enterprise the Italian patriots are shouting in frenzy. A lady writes to the 'London Spectator' that she heard a little peasant girl say to her lover, just ordered to the front, as she embraced him: 'Kill me a Turk for every kiss.' But how many brave fellows urged in this way will return to report their fulfilment of the terrible commission?"

The upper-class women are also upholding the war, and there is no likelihood that votes for women in Italy would "make guns superfluous."

But lest the women of these countries be accused of having improper ideals because they have not had the education that the ballot is supposed to give, I cite some facts regarding conditions in a country where women have full suffrage.

The problem of Asiatic immigration is of vital importance to the people of New Zealand, and they have displayed a military spirit in this matter. Having decided to keep their country white, they are as one man prepared to defend this ideal, with their blood if necessary. Realizing that an untrained nation is powerless, they have adopted compulsory military training. Major-General Godley, in command of the New Zealand forces, traveled far in the two islands in the spring of 1911, and everywhere observed the enthusiasm for this scheme of defense. He received nothing but help from all classes and conditions of men, and this masculine includes the feminine in New Zealand, where women vote. He is reported as saying: "It is the people's system, and the hostility has come from a small minority." It is obvious that a war in New Zealand against cheap foreign labor would be supported by men and women, and that women with votes have not sought to abolish war.

War will be abolished when public opinion shall be sufficiently educated to demand it. Women as well as men need this education, and the Baroness von Suttner and our own Mrs. Elmer Black are doing much toward this end. Women generally have been slow even to recognize the importance of the issue, and one cannot believe that their votes would abolish war.

Ella C. Bréhaut.

"DEFENSE, NOT DEFIANCE"

Motto Well Describes the Attitude of the Anti-Suffragists.

Woman's Strength not Best Exhibited in Violence.

The London "Daily Mail" of June 22d tells of the fracture of the nose of a small boy, beaten and seriously injured by other small boys because his father remained at work in preference to joining the strikers. But what can we expect of small boys whose mothers, too, have "caught the strike spirit." A case was reported at Poplar, in England, in which a woman, who was purchasing provisions in a small shop, mentioned, in the hearing of some other women, that her husband was working in the East India Docks. At night a crowd of strikers' wives broke every pane of glass in the house where she lodges. Mrs. Pankhurst's bad example is quickly followed. Yet we are to believe that women's votes mean the end of violence. Has woman's participation in politics ever meant serenity? Women are a serene influence only when they keep out of politics. Let us study history.

The Empress Eugenie called the Franco-Prussian War, "My War." The Princess Bismarck counselled the severest measures toward the vanquished French ever advocated in modern times. It was Mme. de Pompadour who said: "Après moi le deluge." The French women of the Revolution were bloodthirsty when they caught, as women so quickly do, the spirit of anarchy. The women of ancient Rome turned down their thumbs in the Coliseum as a signal of death. The Southern women of the United States are the last to welcome the union of the blue and the gray, and some psychologist has said, "A woman forgives never." Witness the efforts of suffragists to defeat every man who has ever had the temerity or the independence to disagree with them. It is lese majestie at once.

On the other hand the greatest queen with "the longest and most glorious reign" was an anti-suffragist, and never dabbled in politics. She was great enough to be well advised and to recognize her limitations, and no sovereign was ever served with more personal devotion or disinterested zeal by men than the great queen who so often and so wisely subjected her emotions as a woman to the guidance of the political wisdom of her great statesmen. Can any one fancy Queen Victoria striking Mr. Asquith across the face because he disagreed with her? The suffrage movement has given us a forecast of the reign of caprice and self-will which is terrifying. If suffrage influences in politics are to have an uplifting, purifying and restraining effect will the suffragists not give us some evidence to prove it? Window-breaking shows very little imagination. Moreover, as a demonstration of force, it is singularly unconvincing.

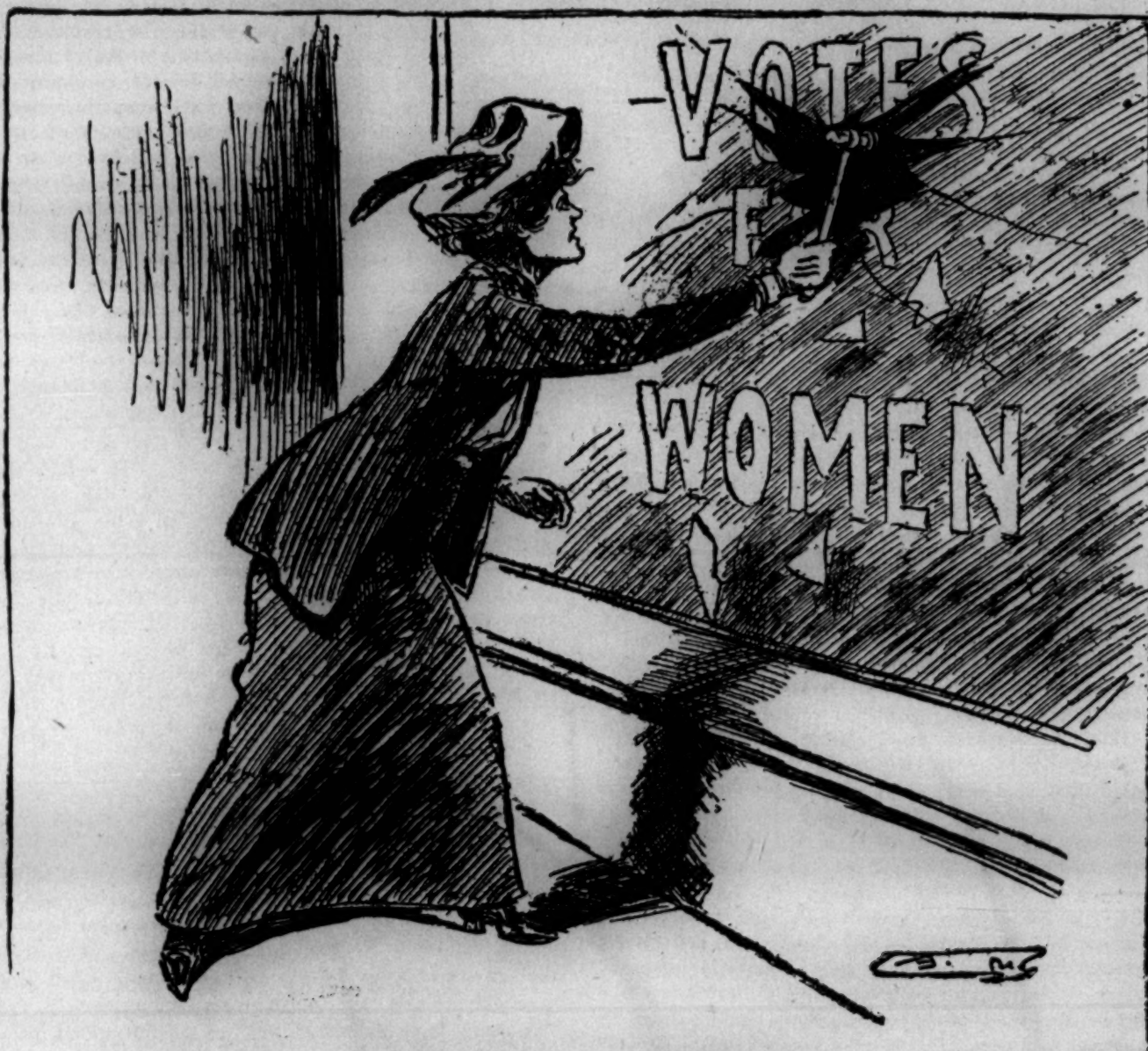
I should like to see anti-suffragists adopt the Blue Hen as their emblem, with her trenchant motto: "Defense, not Defiance." The strength of women is not exhibited in aggressive warfare. Their strength lies, and always must lie, in conservation. In case of attacks on her home or her young, Rudyard Kipling has rightly said, "The female of the species is more deadly than the male." She is strong in defense, and the suffragettes unconsciously realizing this, have done all they could to precipitate an attack on themselves so as to secure the strategic position of the persecuted or besieged. This characteristic of women, however, is well understood by the British public.

The suffragettes have received distinguished consideration, and their martyrdom is indefinitely postponed. They have

never been attacked, and there is no doubt but that a sane and reasonable presentation of the grievances of women would be attentively considered by the British Parliament. What those grievances are becomes less and less clear amidst the shouting and the tumult, but from it all emerges the impression put into words by one of the English poets: "What all your sex desires is sovereignty." As a matter of fact this is a false impression. The majority of our sex desire a safe and stable government, peaceful and prosperous homes, sanitary conditions in which to rear our children, the enforcement of the law against criminals, good and cheap educational facilities, protection to the weak and young, and a more settled social order. We do not believe

that these objects can be accomplished by the entry of women into the excitements of political competition, nor do we think the women who have elected themselves as our delegates have properly realized our desires. We therefore repudiate them as not truly representative of the interests of our sex. We prefer the protection of the Married Woman's Act to the measures advocated by suffragists in our behalf. We resist the attempt to deprive us of our so-called privileges as wives and mothers—privileges which are a substitute for a voluntary renunciation, and which imply a real equality both in loss and gain. We feel our homes and our rights are being attacked, and we stand on the principle of "defense, not defiance."

CARTOON OF THE DAY.



WHAT THEY ARE BREAKING.

—The London Daily News and Leader, July 1.

LORD CURZON'S FIFTEEN GOOD REASONS AGAINST THE GRANT OF FEMALE SUFFRAGE IN ENGLAND.

In his speech at the meeting of the Men's League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, at the Hotel Cecil, on May 18, 1909, Lord Curzon, of Kedleston, said that there were fifteen sound, valid and incontrovertible arguments against the grant of female suffrage. Having been repeatedly asked to state them, Lord Curzon has summarized them as follows:

1. Political activity will tend to take away woman from her proper sphere and highest duty, which is maternity.
2. It will tend by the divisions which it will introduce to break up the harmony of the home.
3. The grant of votes to women cannot possibly stop short at a restricted franchise on the basis of a property or other qualification. Married women being the women, if any, best qualified to exercise the vote, the suffrage could not be denied to them. Its extension to them would pave the way to adult suffrage. There is no permanent or practicable halting-stage before.
4. Women have not, as a sex, or a class, the calmness of temperament or the balance of mind, nor have they the training necessary to qualify them to exercise a weighty judgment in political affairs.
5. The vote is not desired, so far as can be ascertained, by the large majority of women.
6. Neither is the proposed change approved, so far as can be ascertained, by the large majority of men.
7. If the vote were granted it is probable that a very large number of women would not use it at all. But in emergencies or on occasions of emotional excitement a large, and in the last resort, owing the numerical majority of women, a preponderant force might suddenly be mobilized, the political effect of which would be wholly uncertain.
8. The presence of a large female factor in the constituencies returning a British Government to power would tend to weaken Great Britain in the estimation of foreign Powers.
9. It would be gravely misunderstood and would become a source of weakness in India.
10. The vote once given, it would be impossible to stop at this. Women would then demand the right of becoming M.P.'s, Cabinet Ministers, judges, etc. Nor could the demand be logically refused.
11. Woman, if placed by the vote on an absolute equality with man, would forfeit much of that respect which the chivalry of man has voluntarily conceded

to her, and which has hitherto been her chief protection.

12. The vote is not required for the removal of hardships or disabilities from which woman is now known to suffer. Where any such exist, they can equally well be removed or alleviated by a legislature elected by men.

13. Those persons ought not to make laws who cannot join in enforcing them. Women cannot become soldiers, sailors or policemen, or take an active part in the maintenance of law and order. They are incapacitated from discharging the ultimate obligations of citizenship.

14. The intellectual emancipation of women is proceeding, and will continue to do so, without the enjoyment of the political franchise. There is no necessary connection between the two.

15. No precedent exists for giving women as a class an active share in the government of a great country or empire, and it is not for Great Britain, whose stake is the greatest, and in whose case the results of failure would be the most tremendous, to make the experiment. It would not, indeed, be an experiment, since, if the suffrage were once granted, it could never be cancelled or withdrawn.

THE BABY'S LAMENT.

Mother's so busy with speaking,
With making addresses to clubs,
With guiding young women who're seeking
The ballot (gee, whiz, but they're flubs!)
She seldom if ever comes near me,
But leaves me to cry myself sick,
To holler and blubber, to watch and to rubber
Until I'm as mad as old Nick.

Father's so busy with voting
(Straw ballots they are, by the way),
With reading, digesting, connoting
What all of the candidates say,
He hasn't a moment to spare me,
But lets me lie here in my crib,
Grow weary with squalling and howling
and bawling
Until I've a pain in my rib.

I wish that my parents would grant me
Some notice, no matter how slight;
To see them alone would enchant me,
To know them for certain by sight.
I've heard them discussed by the servants,
And so I am sure they exist;
But why need they shove me aside? Can't they love me?
I'd give all the world to be kissed!

—William W. Whitlock, in New York American.

WOMEN AS JURORS.

When the suffragists are working for the ballot, they always make it a point to emphasize the fact that women in politics means nothing more than the casting of an occasional ballot by the women. When they get the ballot, however, the suffragists are quick to demand the rights of the men. Their suffrage organizations, in suffrage states, blossom out into political organizations and they proceed to "boom" their various candidates, a few women always in the race for political preferment.

Suffragists of California are going a step farther in the "enjoyment" of their newly acquired rights. According to recent press reports, the more advanced suffragists are registering at California hotels, when accompanied by their husbands, Mrs. and Mr. John Blank, and the fad is reported as particularly pleasing to the male and female suffragists of the coast. A Los Angeles woman is out for the nomination for Congress and another is known to have the senatorial bee buzzing in her bonnet, the lady frequently introduced as "the future Senator So and So." One staid paper asks: will the congressional and senatorial chairs of the future, be rocking chairs.

Suffragists of Sacramento, Cal., are up in arms planning a mass meeting in protest, because six women who were summoned as jurors in a justice court in Broderick, a suburb of California, were dismissed from service on motion of the attorney for the defense. The suffragists consider the dismissal of the prospective jurors as an affront to their citizenship and are ready for a wind mill war. The women were dismissed from the jury panel on a legal objection, based on the recent ruling of Attorney General Webb, to the effect that women are ineligible for jury service. Attorney General Webb has ruled that there is nothing in the suffrage law giving women the right to act as jurors and held that jury service could not be considered as a political right, but as a duty of citizenship that may be imposed on any or all citizens. In the absence of any law imposing such a duty, he gave as his opinion that an objection to women serving as jurors might lie at any time.

Suffragists of Washington were recently gloating over the fact that six of their number were willing to remain as jurors in a murder case in which it was hard to find men ready to serve. While the men were dodging the jury, on account of the case involved, the suffragists were eager to be sworn in for the case.

Anti-suffragists have always contended that jury duty, like voting, is a duty and not a privilege, and that women have been exempt and not deprived of the ballot. It is interesting to note that their contention is upheld by the Attorney General of California.

SUFFRAGE BEFORE TWO CONVENTIONS.

Two important conventions have been held in the last month, in which the question of woman suffrage was one of the leading issues. At the General Federation of Women's Clubs, held at San Francisco, and representing 800,000 women in the United States, two candidates were up for the presidency. Both of them endorsed woman suffrage, but both expressed themselves as opposed to the consideration of the question by the federation.

After much discussion and clever political tactics Mrs. Percy Pennybacker, of Austin, Tex., was elected president, defeating Mrs. Philip Carpenter, of New York. The motion that woman suffrage should be endorsed by the General Federation of Women's Clubs was made from the floor by Mrs. Edson. Mrs. Moore, the retiring president, said, "The Chair rules your resolution out of order, for two reasons. The first is, that all resolutions must be presented to the Committee on Resolutions; the second is, that all resolutions must be germane to the work of this organization. Your resolution is not germane." The motion was then made that the convention sustain the decision of the Chair, which was carried by a vote of nearly two to one.

In explanation of her position, Mrs. Moore stated that although there might be a majority for woman suffrage (in the organization) there was a very decided minority against it, whether present at the convention or among those who stayed at home. If the majority vote should support suffrage it would give a blow not only to the general federation, but to suffrage, because those in the minority might leave the organization and become the strongest anti-suffragists. She characterized this minority as composed of the timid, conservative women.

It would be interesting to know how many officers and prominent women belonging to State federations and to the women's clubs in the large cities, and who are doing active, progressive work in their communities, are opposed to suffrage. We know of many such, and should call them only timid because of their reluctance to oppose actively woman suffrage on account of the extreme views of many of their fellow members. We hope that the thousands of women belonging to the different clubs in this country will have the cour-

age of their opinions and express themselves more openly than they have in the past. The suffragists endeavored to have the question brought up again at an evening meeting in the form of an endorsement of the work of Susan B. Anthony. President Moore decided that the motion might be given to the press, but did not put it to a vote.

The reports of the various departments of the federation and the program laid out for consideration of the clubs of the federation during the coming two years bear unquestionable testimony to the contention of the anti-suffragists that woman's significant work to-day, as an efficient social factor, lies in her freedom from political responsibility and her consequent power as a worker for the social order. To quote Miss Violet Markham's Albert Hall speech: "The suffragists tell you that the possession of the vote is the symbol of liberty. I ask you to consider that its absence is something even greater—a symbol of disinterested service."

At the other convention, that of the National Education Association in Chicago, the chief fight was made in an effort to make Miss Grace Strachan, of Brooklyn, the president for the ensuing term. As an example of lobbying and extreme political methods it has seldom been equalled.

The outgoing president, Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, head of the Educational Department of Chicago, opposed the candidacy of Miss Strachan, and finally Mr. Edwin T. Fairchild, superintendent of schools of Kansas, was elected president. Woman suffrage was endorsed by the convention, which was not unexpected, as the majority of the teachers belonging to the association were known to be in favor of equal franchise because they think that suffrage will obtain equal pay for equal work.

The victory of the New York teachers in securing this through the Legislature has been of questionable service to the public schools. Instead of the salaries of the women being raised to equal those of the men, the salaries of the men have been lowered to meet the increase made in those of the women so that they might be equal. Already there is a falling off of men teachers and the danger of feminizing the schools.

Possibly Miss Strachan's failure to secure the presidency was in part owing to the criticisms made of the \$200,000 endowment fund which it was proposed to raise for her through a tax on the women teachers in New York City.

REFUSAL OF THE CLUB WOMEN TO INDORSE SUFFRAGE.

Considerable wisdom was manifested in the action of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in refusing to go on record for equal suffrage. The attitude of those women who, though individually suffragists, contended for non-indorsement is particularly to be admired.

Any formal action by the federation in favor of suffrage would have amounted to an over-riding of the rights of the minority, and would have resulted in positive harm, both to the federation and to the suffragist cause.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs presumably represents women of all sorts and descriptions from every part of the United States. Southerners who are dubious about equal suffrage because of the acuteness of the race problem in their States were in attendance, and it is quite conceivable that there were present even members of the various women's anti-suffrage associations. If they were not at the meeting, they at least were interested in its work through membership in organizations affiliated with it. The General Federation is an open congress for club women, and is not presumed to be devoted to the furtherance of any special propaganda. It would have been as reasonable for it to have put its seal of approval upon some particular religion or sect, as it would have been for it to have indorsed suffrage.

Had the suffragists succeeded in running a steam roller over the remainder of the membership, their action would unquestionably have made the bitterness of the antis still more bitter, and would have developed opposition in places where there is now only doubt or indifference.

An attempt to bind the club women of the United States to work for suffrage by putting through a resolution at the convention in San Francisco would have been as foolish as, for instance, an attempt by Democratic members of the House of Representatives to bind the people of the United States to the Wilson candidacy by voting into the Congressional Record a formal indorsement of that candidacy.

Radical suffragists will be wrong if they look upon the failure of the General Federation of Women's Clubs to indorse them as a defeat. They were simply before the wrong tribunal.

They may, however, look back upon a mistake in strategy. For their attempt to force an indorsement has served to show to the world in a very emphatic manner the fact that the club women of America are not, on the whole, as wildly enthusiastic in their support of equal suffrage as some of the propagandists would have us believe, and that the opposition and indifference are really rather widespread. — Detroit Free Press.

ALL TERRORIZED BY SUFFRAGISTS.

Special Cable to "The New York Times."

London, July 20. — "The suffragette movement is becoming purely a criminal one, and as such it will, of course, perish of its own perversity, but it is time to ask who is paying for this campaign of outrage and who organizes it." The foregoing extract from an article in "The Nation" is based on the outrage of which Premier and Mrs. Asquith were the subjects on their arrival in Dublin, when a hatchet was thrown at their carriage.

This was only one of a long series of attempts by suffragettes to advance their cause by violence. Mr. Asquith is evidently a particular object of suffragette attack. Two weeks ago he was to be entertained by the National Liberal Club, but the meeting was countermanded because the police had obtained information that the Premier would be exposed to serious danger if he attended the gathering, as at the club in question it would be manifestly impossible to exclude all suspected persons.

The arrangements for his journey to Dublin had to be changed at the last moment so as to circumvent the plans of his would-be feminine assailants. Instead of taking the London & Northwestern train to Holyhead he traveled by another line to a provincial town, whence he motored to a steamer, from which all ordinary passengers were excluded.

Dublin dispatches show that the suffragettes, balked in England, determined to continue their persecution of the Premier in Ireland. Four Englishwomen were arrested in the Irish capital after the hatchet-throwing incident and the attempted incendiarism at the Theatre Royal, in which the Premier was to speak. One report says that the police discovered in the lodgings taken by the women a quantity of gunpowder, petroleum and other inflammable substances.

The task of guarding the Premier and Cabinet Ministers has become a serious question for Scotland Yard. Not since the days of the Fenian outrages have so many detectives been required to shadow political personages, and, according to one Conservative paper, "It is common knowledge that these incessant attacks and the police surveillance that is necessary are seriously affecting the nerves of the members of the Cabinet. At any moment they know that they may be the subject of possibly dangerous assaults, and that their wives and families may be the victims of suffragette attentions."

Premier Asquith's iron nerve is said to be shaken, and the result upon his health is beginning to give his friends

some anxiety. Even Mr. Lloyd-George, who has faced many disquieting situations nonchalantly enough, is showing signs of nervousness.

No function at which Ministers are to appear takes place without a special mobilization of the detective and police force. Guests at the Royal garden party at Windsor Castle were required to present cards of invitation before being admitted to the grounds, and even at the State ball at Buckingham Palace special precautions were taken to prevent the entry of a possible disturber.

Political hostesses suffer intense anxiety, and the number of parties of the kind has been considerably reduced of late on account of the suffragette reign of terror.

The attempt to set fire to Nuneham House, the historic residence of the Harcourts, was a most striking move in the campaign of intimidation by arson. Helen Cragg's companion has not yet been discovered, but an extensive search of the park led to the finding of certain articles, among them a back hair comb, which the police regard as clues.

Prior to that, however, an attempt was made to set fire to the house occupied by the Minister of Education, Mr. Pease, and then Mr. Hobhouse's house was attacked, while, finally, came the report that a bomb had been found in the Home Secretary's office.

An official denial was given to this last report as soon as it was published, and yesterday Mr. McKenna informed Lord Wolmer in reply to a question in the House of Commons that the police had no information regarding the reported discovery of a bomb in his study. The story, he suggested, might have been derived from the fact that a housemaid, while dusting the room, had found two small vessels containing an inflammable but non-explosive mixture. Whether they were placed there with serious intentions of arson he was unable to say.

In any case, since the discovery of the so-called "bomb" a constable has been on special duty at the private door leading from the Home Office to the Foreign Office quadrangle, through which door, it is supposed, entry was obtained to Mr. McKenna's study.

Mr. McKenna had a personal experience with suffragette methods on Thursday afternoon, when he was violently shaken by a woman, who approached him from behind and caught hold of him before he observed her. The Home Secretary preserved his usual unruffled demeanor.

One Cabinet Minister, who is said, on excellent authority, to be suffering seriously from the shock of a suffragette attack, is Augustine Birrell. Since the Chief Secretary for Ireland was assaulted in Hyde Park by a woman, who proclaimed herself to be a suffragette, he has aged perceptibly.

FEW WOMEN VOTE IN CALIFORNIA.

**Of Half-million Entitled to Franchise
Only 20 Per Cent. Exercise Privilege.**

Three-fifths Roosevelt Partisans.

**Registration for Election Next November
is Not Expected to Exceed
175,000.**

(From the Detroit Free Press.)

San Francisco. — What part will the women of California play in the presidential election next November? Will they turn out in their full strength on election day? Can they, united, carry the State? Are they rising to the situation? Will they vote as a unit? Has any woman boss appeared, and do they incline to her dictation?

These questions, suggested in a State where women have but recently been granted the right of suffrage, and have had but one opportunity thus far to exercise it (at the presidential primary on May 14th), are productive of much speculation, with the exception of the last, which is answerable in the negative. If all, or nearly all, of the women in California who are entitled to register had done so a review of their action at the primaries might afford good indication of their probable attitude when the final test comes. But thus far they have not shown that they appreciate the significance of the privilege.

There are in the State of California some half-million women who are legally entitled to the ballot. In San Francisco, out of 100,000 women entitled to register, barely 30,000 have availed themselves of the opportunity. Less than 20,000 voted at the presidential primaries. In Los Angeles, Sacramento and the other municipal centres the case was the same. In the rural districts the women voted in a little larger proportion.

So far as the registration of the women in this State is concerned its proportion along partisan lines is practically the same as that of the men. Thus 80 per cent. of the registered vote in California is Republican, and 80 per cent. of the women who have registered have declared their party affiliation as Republican.

At the presidential primaries out of a total of about 50,000 voting women throughout the State it is estimated that 30,000 voted for Roosevelt, 12,00 for Taft, 7,500 for La Follette.

The fact is, and this is the conclusion of all who have carefully studied the situation since the primaries, that the women of California, as a whole, are not eager to avail themselves of their newly

acquired right. While the campaign for suffrage was carried on with vigor, it is, nevertheless, a fact that the actual work was done by not over 10,000 women; and it was the men, after all, who voted the constitutional amendment. So far as the women were concerned more voiced opposition to suffrage than for it.

The proposition of the anti-suffragists to have the election on the constitutional amendment for suffrage participated in by the women of California, and by them alone, was precipitately rejected by suffragettes. Such a test vote, supposing that all women qualified had gone to the polls, would doubtless have resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the amendment. This is admitted by even the most ardent of the suffragettes.

It is evident that if all the women of California desired to vote and were united they would hold the balance of power on any proposition put to the electors. But they are not united. The vote at the recent primaries cannot be considered as a test. At other recent elections, where purely civic matters were at issue, they showed a woeful lack of unity.

Registrar Harry Zemansky, of San Francisco, than whom there is not a deeper student of matters political and electoral in California, is of the opinion that comparatively few women will register between now and the presidential election. He says he does not believe the total registration of women by next November will exceed 175,000.

This is not denied by the women themselves. It is a fact that those most active in the primary campaign have expressed themselves as sorely disappointed by the lack of interest evinced by the large body of California women.

A FABLE.

Women above 21 years of age in Ohio, 1,175,169.

Women claimed as suffragettes in Ohio, 32,000.

There was once a boat about to be launched upon troubled waters. There were many men upon the shore and a Few Women. The sky was overcast and squally, and there was some wind. And a Strong Man said: "We must choose our oarsmen with infinite care."

A Woman dashed out from the group of troubled, anxious souls, and said: "Let a Few Women lend a hand," and the Strong Man said: "The boats are more easily handled manned with only men, besides you do not know the sea and we would protect you from its perils." And the Few Women said: "We would learn of the sea, and it is our right to face its perils. Give us the oars."

"Are all the women here?" asked the

Strong Man. "No," said the Few Women, only the noblest and best are here upon the shore. We grieve to say the vast majority are in the village yonder."

"What are they doing here?" asked the Strong Man.

"Only making homes and rearing children," said the Few Women—"that's all."

"Do they ask to share the perils of the sea with Men?" the Strong Man asked.

"No," said the Few Women, "but we upon the shore ask it for ourselves and for them. It is our right and theirs."

The Strong Man looked very grave, and then he said: "You speak of right. By what right do you attempt to call the great majority of women from the sphere of women's work with which they are content, and seek to force them against their will to share the work of the men upon the open sea? You are not wise and you are not fair. You are but a little band of over-zealous souls. The scores of women yonder in the village who are rearing their children, purifying the home, elevating society, directing the schools and caring for the sick, are doing far more for the general good than you who want for yourselves and for them the perils of the sea. Of you there are 29, of them there are 971. Thank God, their majority is so large!"

And the Strong Man turned slowly away, and he and his oarsmen got into the boat and headed for the open sea, and as they went the Few Women called after them, and said many things which the men were grieved to hear. But after all, it did not matter much because there were only such a Few Women on the shore shouting and there were so many in the village quietly doing good work.—Published by Dayton Auxiliary of the Ohio Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

A BISHOP ON SOCIALISM.

Condemning Socialism as a peril to workers, especially to organized labor, the Right Rev. John P. Carroll, Bishop of Helena, Mont., issued an appeal to Chicago workers to avoid the doctrine he declared economically unsound, false in its pretenses and insulting to the intelligence of those who labor, saying, "After the splendid record of nineteen centuries, Socialism dares to whisper in the ear of the workingman that the Church is his enemy, that it is allied with capitalism for the purpose of keeping from labor its just rewards. The Church is willing to give all its influence to bring about the social reforms that are needed to improve the condition of laboring men, but it will never consent to the total destruction of the social order

itself. In other words, it condemns Socialism as the enemy of the laboring man.

"Socialism is economically unsound, as it would destroy the right to private ownership, or, at least, limit it to consumptive goods, such as food, clothing and shelter, and it would transfer to the community or the State the ownership of land, capital and all instruments of production and distribution. Socialism, moreover, is an insult to the laboring man.

"It reduces him to the condition of a brute. The State is the only owner, and the laboring man must feed at his master's crib."

SOCIALISM AND SUFFRAGE.

The editor of a prominent newspaper, who is a Socialist and a suffragist, always advocates suffrage whenever he makes a speech in favor of Socialism. As he expresses it, if women vote, the Socialist Party can get any laws passed in any Legislature in any State in the United States. . . .

From the "New York Call," December 4, 1910:

"Socialist women, your cause to-day stands in greater need of your deeds than ever before. . . .

"Socialist women, who but you can or will take up this sacred task of making the proletarian woman what she must be—a class-conscious fighter for political and economic freedom! . . .

"There is a work before us now which every Socialist woman should want to do with all her heart and soul. Lose no time, comrades; begin to-day. Take a piece of paper this very instant and write on it:

"I am ready to help organize a Socialist suffrage club."

All suffragists are not Socialists, but it is admitted that all Socialists are suffragists. During the past year it has been most significant to notice how many of the leading suffragists are becoming Socialists.

San Francisco, July 19.—Mrs. Helen Wilsey Hall has been nominated on the Socialist ticket for member of the State Legislature at the coming election. Mrs. Hall was formerly president of the Woman's Suffrage Party and distinguished herself during the fight of the women of the State to obtain the franchise.—New York Tribune.

"Socialism is a reactionary, not a progressive, movement. In the name of progress it calls upon civilization to halt; in the name of a glorious and happy future it bids us return to principles and practices of a dead and forlorn past. There is no hope for America in Socialism."—Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Miss Alice H. Chittenden spoke by invitation against woman suffrage for the second time at Chautauqua on July 20th. Her subject was "Woman Suffrage, a Mistaken Idea of Progress."

Miss Anne Martin, a militant suffragist of Reno, Nevada, who has been in jail, arrested in London, November 18, 1911, on a charge of malicious and flagrant mischief, said at the Convention of Women's Clubs in San Francisco in answer to an expression of disapproval of the English suffrage movement, "I heard a woman most prominent in the attendance at this convention—one who has been a president of the National Federation—express her disapproval of the English suffrage movement. No American woman should do that—she would not if she understood just what she was doing—for by this she is putting herself on record as lacking in chivalry—for that is just what such a remark means."

"In my opinion Mrs. Pankhurst and her followers are as great patriots as were our revolutionary fathers; they are working and fighting for a principle, for the liberty of women, for human rights and freedom, in the same way as did the two Giuseppis—Mazzini and Garibaldi—patriots and revolutionists of Italy, and, instead of criticizing these women, we of America should honor them as noble, self-sacrificing women who are trying to wrest human liberty from an inhumane and tyrannical government."

There is one thing that women overlook when they resent the small chivalries of life, and it is a thing by no means easy to state. Chivalry is a strand in the leash by which men restrain one of the cyclone forces in their own nature, a force that without the restraint of chivalry would make our civilization look like thirty cents. The wall of protection that surrounds the weakest and frailest woman among us is not civilization, nor laws, but the innate feeling of chivalry that shows itself in the small observances of life. Let that chivalry be removed and women are face to face with brute physical force. Unless and until women are prepared to defend themselves by physical force they would do well to encourage chivalry as one of those vague and impalpable powers that are yet able to chain up a destructive human force that, if unchained, could reduce the world to a saturnalia of barbarism within the week.—The Argonaut.

In France a commission had been appointed to examine into the causes of the alarming increase of crime. The birth rate in France had long been below what is required for a normal increase. There is no country in Europe where the women are so actively employed in industrial competition. In this country according to the figures given by Miss Winifred Black in the June "Good Housekeeping," the children of Denver contribute twenty-five per cent. of the criminal population to ten per cent. in St. Louis. It seems as though we were not yet sufficiently advanced to dispense with mothers in the homes, no matter what theories of civic duty may exist. The loss to the State through an increase in criminality and a marked fall in the birth rate, which seem to follow on women's desertion of home are greater evils than can be mended by the votes of women, even if women voted "en bloc" in the cause of righteousness, which they do not.

The suffragists of Oregon are making lots of noise, but noise does not mean that the Oregon women want the ballot. Each time that the issue has been presented to the voters of that State it has been defeated with increasing majorities, and the anti-suffrage organization of that State expects to see the suffrage amendment defeated at the polls again in November.

The most prominent of the suffrage workers of Medford, Oregon, secured the nomination for member of the school board, and at the election recently she was defeated by a vote of 392 to 180. This in spite of the fact that the full strength of the suffragists went to her support and a typical whirlwind suffrage campaign was conducted in her interest.

Straws show the direction of the suffrage wind!

The German Government is now instituting an inquiry into the causes of the lowered birth rate, which is also becoming a menace in that empire. The Radical press, commenting on the message, remarks that the Government is pursuing the wrong course by filling the places of 8,600 postal servants with women in order to save \$150,000.

Miss Katherine E. Conway, of the faculty of St. Mary's College in Notre Dame, Indiana, has had conferred on her the papal decoration, "Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice."

Mrs. Meyer, a widow, had \$4,000 in Rochester banks, which she had saved from her allowance for household expenses. The referee decided that the money should go to the creditors. Judge Hazel, in the United States District Court, reversed the referee's decision and handed down an opinion, in which he holds that money saved by a housewife from her expenses account cannot be seized by her husband's creditors.

Miss Margaret Foley of Boston, a Trade Unionist and Suffragist, in an address to the delegates of the Citizen's Labor Union in Toledo, Ohio, said: "There will be no fear that the women will not have their glass of beer if the right to vote is granted them, as the six states in which there now is equal suffrage are wet."

Monsignor Bolo, Apostolic Plenipotentiary to France, says: "Feminism must be encouraged in the measure in which it helps woman to marry and bring up her children. Whatever throws woman out of her class, makes her ridiculous or graceless, must be fought like a social pestilence."

Robert Herrick says if you want to please a woman, "Tell her every time you can that you are treating her like a man—and don't."

"Our American mode of government does not draw any power from tumultuous assemblages."—Daniel Webster.

"Life" calls the Pankhursts the "McNamaras of the suffrage movement."

ECHOES FROM THE BALTIMORE PARADE.

The Woman's Professional Club, in their silk caps and gowns, carried large paper sun flowers and marched to the tune of "You Great Big Beautiful Doll." On a large chariot filled with well-dressed children was the following motto:

"Mother mends our shirts and socks,
Mother mends our coat;
Maybe mother can mend the laws,
If she gets the vote."

One woman drove a large Roman chariot, drawn by such fiery steeds that a man had to walk beside each. She looked rather abashed at the gaze of the large crowd. There was absolutely no cheering or demonstration of any kind.

The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

(FOUNDED 1895)

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 First Address Before the New York Legislature, 1895 *By Mrs. Francis M. Scott*
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BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING:

- On Suffrage, (.05) *G. K. Chesterton*
 Votes for Women (.10) *Frederic Harrison*
 The Ladies' Battle-(\$1.00) *Molly Eliot Seawell*
 Book of Woman's Power (\$1.25)
 Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.) *Grace Duffield Goodwin*
 Woman and the Republic (25c.) *Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*
 Anti-Suffrage Calendar for 1911, with many interesting quotations. These can be obtained by applying to the Woman's Protest.

We recommend to our readers the new Monthly, THE COMMON CAUSE, which is opposed to Socialism. Subscription \$2.00. Office, 154 East 23rd Street. Also, THE HOME DEFENDER, Hoquim, Wash.

Some pamphlets issued by the Massachusetts Association opposed to the further extension of suffrage to women:

- Some of the Reasons Against Woman Suffrage *Francis Parkman*
 Of What Benefit to Woman?
 Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage *Jeannette L. Gilder*
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